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Message Text

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PAGE 01 SECTO 20091 01 OF 02 090008Z

70
ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-10 SSO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 NSC-05

CCO-00 PA-01 USIA-06 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /046 W
---------- 052854
R 082235Z AUG 76 ZFF-4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LAHORE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC

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FOR S/PRS; PASS NSC FOR MR. SCOWCROFT AND WHITE HOUSE
FOR MR. NESSEN

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: EXCHANGE OF DINNER TOASTS AUGUST 8, 1976
PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S REMARKS

1. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WE ARE DELIGHTED AND HONORED TO HAVE WITH US ONCE AGAIN THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR DISCUSSIONS AND WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO THESE DISCUSSIONS WHICH WE WILL HOLD TOMORROW MORNING IN LAHORE. I'M SORRY TO TELL YOU, DR. KISSINGER, THAT A CLOUD HANGS OVER THE CITY OF LAHORE, AND IT HAS HUNG OVER THE CITY OF LAHORE AND MOST OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE LAST TEN TO TWELVE DAYS. WE HAVE HAD TORRENTIAL RAINS AND NOW ALSO WE ARE GOING THROUGH A VERY ANXIOUS AND AGONIZING PERIOD, BECAUSE OUR RIVERS ARE IN FULL SPATE, THEY HAVE BECOME VERY MISCHIEVOUS, THEY ARE TUMULTOUS, AND WE HAVE TO WATCH THEM VERY CAREFULLY. THIS INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION WHICH DATES BACK TO FIVE THOUSAND YEARS HAS HAD TO FIGHT AND LIVE WITH THE RIVERS IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. WE'VE SOMETIMES HAD TO QUARREL WITH THE RIVERS, SOMETIMES WE'VE HAD TO PACIFY THEM, SOMETIMES WE'VE HAD TO FIGHT WITH THEM, SOMETIMES WE'VE HAD TO TAME THEM, SOMETIMES WE'VE HAD TO CAJOLE THEM, AND IN DEALING WITH OUR RIVERS WE HAVE LEARNED
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PAGE 02 SECTO 20091 01 OF 02 090008Z

DIPLOMACY BECAUSE IN A WAY DIPLOMACY IS SOMETHING SO

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NATURAL, AND IT COMES NATURALLY TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE HAD
TO GO THROUGH SUCH KIND OF EXPERIENCES, IT DOESN'T COME
NATURALLY TO PEOPLE WHO DO NOT HAVE TO TAME RIVERS,
FIGHT WITH THEM, MAKE LOVE TO THEM, QUARREL WITH THEM,
AND THAT IS WHY WHEN YOU TALK TO US TOMORROW PLEASE
REMEMBER THAT WE WILL BE AT OUR BEST BECAUSE OUR RIVERS
ARE FULL OF MISCHIEF. (LAUGHTER) AND SINCE RUDYARD
KIPLING ALSO LIVED IN LAHORE AND WAS THE EDITOR OF OUR
FAMOUS NEWSPAPER CALLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE",
YOU MUST NOT ASSOCIATE LAHORE ONLY WITH KIM AND KIPLING.
ALTHOUGH KIM AND KIPLING HAD A LOT TO DO WITH THE BRITISH
RAJ, TRACES OF WHICH YOU WILL STILL SEE HERE IN ONE FORM
OR ANOTHER. HOWEVER, OUT OF ALL OUR CITIES, LAHORE IS
REGARDED TO BE OUR CULTURAL CENTER, THE PIVOT OF OUR
HISTORY AND THE PIVOT OF OUR ACTIVITIES. IT IS A CITY
WHICH HAS SEEN CENTURIES GO PAST ITS TOWERS. IT HAS
SEEN MANY CONQUERERS. BUT IT HAS, WITH ITS PROFOUND
CULTURE AND DEPTH, CONQUERED ALL CONQUERORS. IT IS
THE CITY OF OUR RENNAISANCE, IT IS A CITY OF GREAT
PRIDE TO US. AND IN RECENT TIMES, WHEN LAHORE WAS
INVADED, THE PEOPLE OF THIS CITY HEROICALLY REPULSED
THE INVADERS AND FOUGHT EVERY INCH FOR THE PROTECTION
OF THE MOTHERLAND. LAHORE CONJURES UP MANY FASCINATING
INSPIRATIONS FOR US. IT IS A CITY OF GARDENS, OF FORTS,
OF MONUMENTS, OF MOSQUES, AND HERE IN THIS CITY OF
LAHORE ALSO A MOGHUL EMPEROR WHO WAS THEN A CROWN PRINCE
FELL IN LOVE WITH A BEAUTIFUL YOUNG LADY AND SHE WAS
CALLED ANARKALI. ANARKALI IS A FORM OF FLOWER OF THE
POMEGRANATE. BUT THE FATHER SHAHJAHAN DID NOT WANT A
SON TO GET MARRIED TO ANARKALI AND HE BURIED HER ALIVE,
PUNISHED HER, AND ON TOP OF THAT BURIAL IS OUR SECRETARIAT.
(LAUGHTER) WHERE WE WORK SO HARD AND GO THROUGH ALL THE
FIGHTS. HERE, JUST ACROSS FROM THE ROOM NEXT DOOR WHERE
WE HOLD OUR TALKS, TWO PEOPLE HAVE BEEN BURIED UNDERGROUND
(LAUGHTER) FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES. THIS IS WHERE THE
MOGHUL EMPERORS, THIS IS WHERE THE BUDDHIST EMPERORS,
THIS IS WHERE RANJIT SINGH, THE SIKH KING, AND SO
MANY OTHERS HAVE PUT THEIR IMPRINT. AND I AM PERSONALLY
BEHOLDEN TO THE CITY. I HAVE ALWAYS LOVED IT AND I
AM BEHOLDEN TO IT BECAUSE IN THE LAST ELECTION IN
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1970 I CONTESTED FROM HERE, ALTHOUGH I CONTESTED FROM
FIVE OTHER PLACES AS WELL AT THE SAME TIME. AND I
CAME TO LAHORE ONLY FOR ONE DAY. AND I HAD THE HONOR
OF DEFEATING THE SON OF THE PERSON WHO CONCEIVED
PAKISTAN, BY FOUR THOUSAND VOTES, ALTHOUGH I STAYED
HERE FOR ONE DAY. SO THE PEOPLE OF LAHORE HAVE BEEN
VERY KIND AND GRACIOUS TO ME AND I AM ETERNALLY BEHOLDEN
TO THEM. THEREFORE WE THOUGHT THAT, IF YOU ARE COMING

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TO PAKISTAN YOU'VE BEEN TWICE TO ISLAMABAD, YOU'VE BEEN
ONCE TO LAHORE, WE THOUGHT YOU SHOULD COME TO LAHORE.
I DON'T KNOW WHETHER MRS. KISSINGER WILL HAVE THE TIME
TO VISIT SOME OF THE PLACES OF THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY
TOMORROW. SHE MIGHT BE TIRED, YOU ARE OUR GUESTS,
THERE IS NO FORMALITY BETWEEN US. IF YOU'RE TIRED,
YOU CAN COME AGAIN. YOU WILL ALWAYS BE WELCOME TO
PAKISTAN. DR. KISSINGER AND MRS. KISSINGER AND HIS
FAMILY WILL ALWAYS BE WELCOME TO OUR COUNTRY -- IN THIS
CAPACITY, IN ANY OTHER CAPACITY -- AND WE WILL WELCOME
THEM WITH OPEN ARMS BECAUSE WE HAVE GREAT AFFECTION AND
REGARD FOR THEM, NOT ONLY BECAUSE THEY ARE OUTSTANDING
PEOPLE, NOT ONLY BECAUSE DR. KISSINGER HAS PLAYED A
MAGNIFICANT AND SPLENDID ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF
HIS COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY FOR WHICH THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE WILL I AM SURE GIVE HIM FULL CREDIT IN THE
FULLNESS OF TIME, BUT BECAUSE HE HAS A FULL GRASP OF
HISTORY, A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF THE WAY THE CONTEMPORARY
EVENTS MOVE. HE HAS A FULL KNOWLEDGE OF STRATEGY AND HE
HAS NO HOCUS-POCUS ABOUT HIM. HE CAN GO STRAIGHT TO
THE POINT, HE GETS STRAIGHT TO THE POINT, AND HIS CONTRIBU-
TION TO WORLD AFFAIRS, TO THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE
UNITED STATES, IS UNIQUE. AND WHEN I SAY THIS, I AM
NOT TRYING TO SAY IT FOR THE PURPOSES OF DIPLOMACY,
BECAUSE OUR RIVER DOES NOT TEACH US THIS KIND OF
DIPLOMACY. THE POINT IS THAT I HAVE DEALT WITH MANY
SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
I HAVE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR ALL OF THEM, BECAUSE
THEY HAVE BEEN SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA. BUT I HAVE NO HESITATION AND WITHOUT FEAR
OF ANY CONTRADICTION, I WOULD DECLARE HERE TONIGHT,

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PAGE 01 SECTO 20091 02 OF 02 090019Z

70
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SECTO 20091

FOR S/PRS; PASS NSC FOR MR. SCOWCROFT AND WHITE HOUSE
FOR MR. NESSEN

DR. KISSINGER, THAT IN YOU I HAVE FOUND THE MOST
ERUDITE AND THE MOST ARTICULATE EXPONENT OF THE
FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
(APPLAUSE) WELCOME. WELCOME. AND WE RESPECT YOU
FOR YOUR ERUDITION AND FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE
CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE. YOU HAVE LEFT AN INDELIBLE
MARK, YOU WILL LEAVE AN INDELIBLE MARK, ON CONTEM-
PORARY EVENTS AND ON THE HISTORY OF OUR TIMES. FUTURE
HISTORIANS ARE BOUND TO COME TO THE SAME CONCLUSION.
SIR, APART FROM THESE GENERAL REMARKS, I WOULD LIKE TO
SAY ONE THING MORE, AND THAT IS THAT YOU HAVE COME FROM
IRAN -- IRAN IS A FRATERNAL AND BROTHERLY COUNTRY OF
PAKISTAN. SINCE OUR INDEPENDENCE, WE HAVE HAD THE
CLOSEST RELATIONS WITH IRAN. AND THERE HAS BEEN A FULL
CONSUMMATION OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY IN ALL
SPHERES AND IN ALL FIELDS. YOU HAVE ALSO COME FROM KABUL.
WE ARE HAPPY THAT YOU WENT TO KABUL --
AFGHANISTAN -- IS A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY OF PAKISTAN AND
WE ARE STRIVING VERY HARD TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH
AFGHANISTAN. AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WHEN PRESIDENT
DAOUD COMES HERE WE WILL CONTINUE SEDULOUSLY AND
SINCERELY IN OUR EFFORTS TO ARRIVE AT THE MODUS
VIVENDI AND TO OVERCOME OUR DIFFICULTIES. IN YOUR
VISIT TO IRAN YOU HAVE ACHIEVED GREAT SUCCESSES.
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YOU HAVE PROMOTED THE ALREADY-EXISTING FRIENDLY
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND IRAN AND YOU
HAVE RECOGNIZED IRAN'S IMPORTANCE TO THE SECURITY OF
THIS REGION. IN PAKISTAN WE ARE HAPPY THAT THIS
RECOGNITION HAS BEEN ACCEPTED. WHY ARE WE HAPPY? WE
ARE HAPPY BECAUSE WE REGARD IRAN'S SECURITY TO BE
INDIVISIBLE WITH OUR OWN SECURITY. AND IRAN ALSO, I
WOULD BELIEVE, CONSIDERS THAT IRAN'S SECURITY IS
INDIVISIBLE TO PAKISTAN'S SECURITY. THAT BEING THE
POSITION, WE ARE NOT CONCERNED WITH THE SMALL BANGS.
IF THERE IS TO BE A BIG BANG, AND YOU BIG CHIEF ARE
CONSIDERED AS A BIG BANG, IF THERE IS TO BE A BIG
BANG YOU CANNOT CONCEIVE OF IRAN'S SECURITY SEPARATE
FROM PAKISTAN'S. AND SO WHAT IS GOOD FOR THE GOOSE IS
GOOD FOR THE GANDER. IF THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS
THAT IRAN'S SECURITY IS SO IMPORTANT TO THE VITAL
INTERESTS OF THE WORLD, AND FOR STABILITY AND EQUILIBRIUM

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

IN THIS REGION, IPSO FACTO IT MUST COME TO THE CONCLUSION
THAT THE SAME APPLIES FOR PAKISTAN. AND THERE CANNOT BE
A DICHOTOMY IN THAT APPROACH. AND IF A DICHOTOMY IS
INTRODUCED INTO OR INJECTED INTO THAT APPROACH,
THEN YOUR WHOLE STRATEGIC CONCEPT FAILS. BECAUSE
THERE CANNOT BE A HALF-WAY HOUSE TO A STRATEGIC
CONCEPT WHEN THE EARTH SHAKES. SO WE BELIEVE
A PRIORI (GARBLE) THAT IF YOU HAVE COME TO CERTAIN
CONCLUSIONS IN REGARD TO THE SECURITY OF IRAN, THOSE
CONCLUSIONS MUST APPLY TO PAKISTAN. AND IF THEY DO
NOT APPLY TO PAKISTAN, THEN IN THAT EVENT THERE IS
A LUCUNA, A DANGEROUS AND A SERIOUS ONE. SO YOUR
VISIT TO IRAN REALLY IS A LITMUS TEST OF YOUR PERCEPTION
OF THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT. SO
THAT IS WHY WE WERE VERY DELIGHTED TO SEE THE OUTCOME OF
YOUR VISIT TO IRAN AND THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WAS
HELD THERE AND OF THE REMARKS YOU MADE IN IRAN. WE ARE
ALSO, AS YOU KNOW, PREOCEEDING WITH THE PROCESS OF
NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS WITH INDIA. IT HAS NOT
BEEN AN EASY TASK. IT NEVER CAN BE AN EASY TASK. BUT
WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY PROCEEDED ON THAT BASIS. AND WE
BELIEVE THAT IF THERE IS TO BE DETENTE UPTOWN, WHY
SHOULDN'T THERE BE DETENTE DOWNTOWN? BUT THE POINT IS
THAT DETENT DOWNTOWN MEANS THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN
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PRECONDITIONS AND THE PRECONDITION IN THE DETENTE
DOWNTOWN IS THAT THE BASIC DISPUTE WHICH SEPARATES
INDIA AND PAKISTAN MUST BE RESOLVED. WE HAVE RESOLVED
ALL DISPUTES WITH INDIA EXCEPT THE DISPUTE OVER
JAMMU KASHMIR AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE DISPUTE OF
JAMMU KASHMIR HAS TO BE RESOLVED ON THE BASIS OF
PRINCIPLES, WHICH IS ON THE BASIS OF THE RIGHT OF
SELF-DETERMINATION. NO OTHER SOLUTION WILL BE WORKABLE,
LASTING OR ENDURING. AND WHEN ON GUT ISSUES AND
BASIC ISSUES PEOPLE TRY TO FIND COMPROMISES, THEY
ONLY INDULGE IN DELUSIONS. BECAUSE COMPROMISE ON
GUT ISSUES, ON BASIC ISSUES, ON INTRODUCABLE MINIMUM
ISSUES, CREATES FURTHER COMPLICATIONS RATHER THAN
RESOLVE PROBLEMS. SO IT IS NOT OUT OF OBSTINACY OR
RIGIDITY OR FANATACISM THAT WE TAKE THIS POSITION,
BUT WE TAKE THIS POSITION BY SUBMITTING TO LOGIC AND
TO THE SWEEP OF HISTORY IN SAYING THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN
IRREDUCIBLE PROBLEMS WHICH CANNOT BE COMPROMISED.
OTHERWISE THERE IS ALWAYS GIVE AND TAKE, OTHERWISE THERE
IS ALWAYS ROOM FOR ACCOMMODATION AND COMPROMISE -- THAT
IS THE CIVILIZED WAY OF LIFE. BUT THERE COMES A POINT
WHERE YOU CAN'T INDULGE IN GIVE AND TAKE BECAUSE THAT
CAUSES MORE CONFUSION, MORE TUMULT, AND MORE DIFFICULTY.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

2. I HAVE EXPLAINED BASICALLY WHAT WE ARE GOING TO TALK ABOUT TOMORROW. HOWEVER, FINALLY WHEN I AGAIN REFER TO LAHORE, LET ME TELL YOU, AS I SAID, THIS IS THE CENTER OF ACTIVITY. THIS IS THE HEART-THROB OF PAKISTAN. THIS IS WHERE WE COME AND GO FOR ALL OUR POLITICAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. THIS IS WHERE WE REPROCESS OURSELVES. THIS IS OUR REPROCESSING CENTER. (LAUGHTER) AND WE CANNOT, IN ANY WAY, DO ANYTHING WHICH SHOULD AFFECT THE REPROCESSING CENTER OF PAKISTAN.

3. NOW FINALLY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MAY I REQUEST YOU JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO DR. KISSINGER AND TO MRS. NANCY KISSINGER, TO YOUNG DAVID, TO THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED STATES, MAY IT LAST FOREVER AND GROW FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH.
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US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

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To: STATE
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